DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 408 381 UD 031 734

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TITLE Unowned Places and Times: Maps and Interviews about Violence in Unsafe High Schools.
PUB DATE 9 Aug 96
NOTE 59p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (Toronto, Ontario, Canada, August 9-13, 1996).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Educational Facilities Design; *High School Students; High Schools; Maps; *Prevention; *School Safety; School Space; Secondary School Teachers; Sex Differences; *Student Attitudes; Teacher Role; *Violence

ABSTRACT

Students (n=78) and teachers (n=22) in five high schools with violence concerns were given maps of their schools and asked to identify the locations and times of the most violent events and most dangerous areas in and around the school. Participants were also asked to identify the ages and genders of the perpetrators and victims of the violent events. Participants were then interviewed about the locations indicated on the maps. Results suggest that violent events occurred primarily in spaces such as hallways, dining areas, and parking lots at times when teachers typically were not present. Results also suggest that girls are more likely to be involved in violent events than boys. By far the most effective deterrent to violence was the presence of a teacher. It is suggested that interventions be designed to increase the role of teachers in violence prevention. (Contains 1 figure, 5 tables, and 62 references.) (Author/SLD)

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Running Head: MAPS AND INTERVIEWS ABOUT VIOLENCE

Unowned Places and Times:

Maps and Interviews About Violence In Unsafe High Schools

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Paper Presented at the American Psychological Association Annual Convention, Toronto, Canada, August 9, 1996

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Abstract

Students and teachers in five high schools with violence concerns were given maps of their schools and asked to identify the locations and times of the most violent events and most dangerous areas in and around the school. Participants were also asked to identify the ages and genders of the perpetrators/victims of the violent events. Participants were then interviewed about the locations indicated on the maps. Results suggest that violent events occurred primarily in spaces such as hallways, dining areas and parking lots at times when teachers were not typically present. Results also suggested that girls were more likely to be involved in violent events than boys. Authors suggest interventions be designed in order to increase the role of teachers in violence prevention.

The bell rings and within a few seconds an ocean of students spill into the hallway. Students are rushing to their lockers, talking to friends, and walking with a sense of direction to their next class. Suddenly, from somewhere in the crowd, a voice yells "fight!" Most students stop what they are doing and energetically attempt to locate the fight. "Where's the fight?", "Who's fighting?" are frenzied questions heard from student voices. At the same time, down the hall, a circle of thirty or more adolescents engulf the two fighting students. Those standing at the back of the circle are stretching their necks to catch a glimpse of the violence -- a punch, a kick, or perhaps a weapon. Some of the students within the human circle are watching quietly. Some students are cheering the fighters and commenting about the quality of the punches. Finally, after several very long minutes, a teacher tunnels through the crowd screaming. "Break it up! Break it up! Okay, everyone to class. Break it up. Move aside." Slowly, the crowd begins to dissipate and the fighting students separate to opposite sides of the hallway. The lone and courageous teacher continues to admonish the few remaining gawkers who continue watching and hoping for another outburst. The disheveled fighters are escorted by the teacher to the vice principal's office.

This sequence of social dynamics surrounding a physical assault in a school hallway would probably be recognizable to most individuals who attended an American high school. In fact, it is quite probable that most current students and teachers could recount remarkably similar stories regarding the social dynamics of school fights and other forms of school violence.

We suspect that student and teacher descriptions of violent events in their school would most likely contain the following elements. First, the vast majority of violent events would be associated with transition periods and in transition spaces, including hallways, lunch areas, parking lots, restrooms, gym locker rooms, school yards and routes to and from school. These physical locations tend to have extremely low teacher/child ratios

during periods when the most violence occurs. In contrast, students would rarely mention classroom spaces during teaching periods with their regular teachers. Any in-class events would typically include a substitute teacher or vacant classroom.

Second, most children and teachers would describe very specific transition periods and physical locations that attract more violent events. In some schools the playground may be more problematic; while in other schools the hallways or gym may be of greater concern.

Third, we believe that descriptions of student/teacher/administration dynamics surrounding aggression during transition periods would be similar in most high schools. That is, like our hypothetical example, a clustering of many students would surround the fighting individuals and either encourage the fight or merely observe the aggression. Very few students/adults would describe a peer cohort response of breaking up or discouraging fights. Students would be quick to point out that the fight and crowd of peers would be more likely (but not always) to dissipate when a teacher or principal appeared. Other than the fighting students, no person in the school would be held responsible for the fight. The teacher who intervened would be viewed by other teachers as going above and beyond the call of duty, and perhaps unwise by some, for attempting to stop a fight with no other teachers for support. Few, if any, students would feel morally responsible for the observed fight and few students would expect collective repercussions for the predictable peer-group circle around the violence. In most schools, suspension would be the only intervention applied to one or both of the fighting students after an inquiry of "who started it" was complete. In most cases, suspension would be left to the discretion of the administrator (except if weapons were involved) and consequences would not always be applied consistently in comparable situations. In some cases, the administrators might send the two students back to class after they showed remorse and promised not to fight again. Since violent events in schools, such as our hypothetical fight, seem quite predictable and

recognizable, why aren't these specific dynamics discussed in the school violence literature or addressed in school violence interventions?

It is difficult to imagine a similar violence dynamic occurring in any other work setting or social institution. In large part, we believe this widely recognizable pattern stems from the fact that violence in school settings is tolerated by our society to a much greater extent than in any other formal social setting (see Astor, Behre, Fravil & Wallace, in press, for an empirical study on the definition and tolerance of school violence). For instance, most work settings would not allow coworkers to physically fight during work breaks on a daily basis. Imagining co-workers (such as university professors, doctors, stock brokers, teachers, salespeople, or politicians) forming daily circles around their feuding colleagues and encouraging or merely watching them fight borders on the absurd in our society. In fact, if this were allowed to occur in a given work setting, workers would have serious legal recourse against the perpetrator and the work setting for not stopping the reoccurring violence. Yet, in school settings, our society appears to have a greater tolerance for violent behaviors that are unimaginable in most other organized social settings.

Many social patterns surrounding school violence appear to be intricately linked to specific patterns of the school schedule and specific school locations. Nevertheless, most school violence interventions and research paradigms have not directly studied the covariance of physical context with teacher/staff/administrator roles, and the organizational response to violence in schools. Overall, researchers and intervention strategies have targeted only one component of intuitively recognizable school violence dynamics and ignored the inseparable linkage between the social and physical context of the school. As a result, some approaches have framed the problem of school violence solely from a interpersonal psychological perspective (e.g. conflict management programs, peer mediation programs, or peer counseling programs) while others have discussed the influence of more global school variables (e.g., school organization or climate, or the quality of the teacher/child relationship). A third genre of school violence intervention

strategies focuses on security measures or on changing the physical structure of the school building. These interventions include police officers, security guards, metal detectors, electronic monitoring systems, and design changes to the school building. Finally, the removal of perpetrators from the school setting through temporary suspension and permanent expulsion is perhaps the most common intervention used to stem the rise of school violence.

In contrast to these approaches, this study began with the assumption that an examination of the school social dynamics combined with space and physical location was necessary if researchers hoped to better understand school violence and developed more effective interventions. Consequently, this inquiry examined how violence within high schools interacted with specific school locations, patterns of the school day, and social organizational variables (e.g., teacher/student relationships, teachers roles, the organizational response to violence). An important goal of this exploration was to allow students and teachers to voice their personal theories as to why specific locations and times in their schools were more dangerous. Consequently, this study was designed to document 1) the specific locations and times within each school where violence occurred, and 2) the perspectives of students, teachers, staff and administrators on the school organizational response (or non response) to violent events in these locations. Finally, we provide a socio-environmental transactional perspective attempting to explain why violence occurs where it does in schools.

Previous Research on the Physical and Social Aspects of School Violence

Where and When School Violence Occurs

Previous studies have documented where and when school violence occurs. For example, the landmark Safe School Study (1978), found that the "locus of much violence and disruption" was usually in areas such as stairways, hallways, and cafeterias, and that the risk of violent encounters was greatest during transitions between classes. In that study, eighty percent of the violent crimes committed against persons occurred during

regular school hours; of all secondary school assaults and robberies, 32% occurred between class periods, and 26% occurred during lunch (National Institute of Education, 1978). Since then, many articles and important policy reports have implicated these and other dangerous school locations and times (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1993; Goldstein, 1994; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Gottfredson, 1995; Olweus, 1991; Slaby, Barham, Eron, & Wilcox, 1994). However, very few studies have systematically explored why violence occurs in schools, when it does, and how these times and spaces interact with the prescribed social structure of the school (e.g., teacher roles, administrator roles, etc.). Even fewer studies have examined teachers' and students' perceptions of the combined physical and social structure of the school as it relates to violence. Instead, post-hoc explanations implicating crowding and lack of supervision are commonly offered as reasons for why school violence tends to be predictable in certain times and spaces within schools (Batsche & Knoff, 1994; Goldstein, 1994; Olweus, 1991; Sutton, 1996). However, if variables such as crowding and supervision are perceived by researchers as important contributors to the prevalence of school violence, then a major violence reduction strategy would be relatively straight forward: significantly reduce the number of students in dangerous spaces and times and significantly increase supervision. Even so, studies could not be found documenting why many high schools do not formally address issues of crowding or supervision in these high risk locations and time frames. We suspect that the lack of interventions addressing these locations are related to the roles of staff embedded in the high school social organizational and physical structure.

Social Organizational Variables

Sociological and organizational variables have also been researched and identified as potential contributors to school violence. For example, poor teacher/student relationships, sometimes referred to as "teacher care" (Noddings, 1992, 1995; Lee & Croninger, 1995; Shore, 1995), urban schools with high concentrations of low-income students (Comer, 1980; Kantor, & Brenzel, 1992; Lee & Croninger, 1995; Kozol, 1991),

very large and impersonal school settings (Alexander & Curtis, 1995; Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan, MacIver, 1993; Meier, 1995; Newmann, 1981; Olweus, 1991; Oser & Althof, 1993), and poor school social climate or organization (Astor, 1995; Noguera, 1995; Morrison, Furlong, and Morrison, 1994; Rowan, 1990; Schorr, 1988; Strike & Soltis, 1985; Zeldin & Price, 1995) have all been associated with school violence. These variables are usually described in global (the whole school is described "in general") and dichotomous (good or bad) terminology. From the perspective of these literatures, school violence is a symptom of a deficit within the functioning of the school organization. Consequently, common suggestions to decrease school violence have included such general and global prescriptions as improving the relationships between teachers and students, making schools smaller and more personable, strengthening relationships between the school, home, and community, and creating a clear organizational violence policy.

Some have argued that a safe school is guided by the same principles as the school reform movement (Miller, 1994; Morrison, Furlong, and Morrison, 1994), which includes many of the aforementioned global prescriptions. While we would not expect any credible researcher or educator to disagree with these kinds of recommendations, solutions from these literatures do not address the specificity of the social organizational structure within select times and locations that tend to be uniquely problematic. For example, if violence tends to occur during times when most teachers are not with the students (e.g., taking a break or eating lunch in a separate location) it could be argued that improving the teacher/child relationships in class would not significantly impact student behaviors in areas outside the class (e.g., the playground, cafeteria, routes to and from school). This could explain why studies have not always found significant associations between "school climate" and the number or severity of violent events within schools (Guerra, Tolan & Hammond, 1994; Huesmann, Guerra, Van Acker, Tolan, & Eron, 1995; Kazdin, 1994) .

The lack of specificity regarding within-school variation leaves a chasm between policy and theory recommendations and implementation of policy in practice.

Race is also an issue whose relationship with school violence has been explored. The schools' racial composition, or segregation (Dryfoos, 1990; Kozol, 1991; Lee & Croninger, 1995), the school curriculum's sensitivity towards racial issues (Delva-Tauili'ili, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Soriano, Soriano, & Jimenez, 1994; Ward, 1995), and unfair discipline factors surrounding race (Noguera, 1995) have been discussed in different violence literatures. Nevertheless, most studies include and analyze race or ethnicity as a demographic control variable. Rarely are children asked to elaborate about school violence as it intersects with the concept of race. Given this void in the literature, we asked participants in this study to discuss the impact of race as it pertained to violence in their schools.

Similarly, gender violence, dating violence, rape, and issues of sexual harassment in high schools have appeared recently in different literatures (Astor et. al., in press; Katz, 1995; Sorenson & Bowie, 1994; Stein, 1995). Still, students are rarely asked about where and when they are most at risk for violence at school as a result of their gender. Different forms of school violence may vary by gender, age, race, and location of the school. Not all students may be equally at risk for violence in the same place or time. The children's detailed knowledge of where and when different groups are victimized could be vital in developing interventions targeting specific locations and victim groups in the school. Currently, most social organization strategies do not address such complexities within school variation.

Psychological Interventions

Interventions based on psychological theories of problem solving, social skills training, modeling, and traditional counseling are employed in many U.S. school settings (e.g., Alexander & Curtis, 1995; Astor et. al., in press; Guerra & Tolan, 1994; Hammond & Yung, 1994 ; Larson, 1994). In fact, they are part of our national policy related to

school violence. Included in the federal government's National Education Goals 2000 is the goal to "[i]ncrease to at least 50 percent the proportion of elementary and secondary schools that teach nonviolent conflict resolution skills, preferably as part of quality school health education." These and other psychological interventions are based on the assumption that the individuals within the school lack social, psychological, communication, or behavioral skills and therefore need to be trained to handle conflict more effectively. However, these interventions do not explain, incorporate, or address school violence dynamics associated with the physical and social structure of the school. The psychological interventions do not address school contextual variables (such as hallway behavior) because violent behavior is conceptualized as stemming from an interpersonal skill or cognitive behavioral deficit within the violent individuals, between individuals in conflict, or within families (Cairns & Cairns, 1991; Coie, Underwood, and Lochman, 1991; Dodge, 1991; Guerra & Tolan, 1994; Pepler, King, & Byrd, 1991; Olweus, 1991). The school itself is not seen as a significant contributing factor to the violence.

Overall, cognitive researchers have chosen schools as a place to implement prevention strategies because all children are required to attend schools. However, "school-based" interventions rarely include school variables in the intervention model. Interestingly, when cognitive or behavioral interventions fail to produce significant reductions in aggression, researchers have often blamed the school or school variables such as teacher care, school climate and organizational discord for their failure (Huesmann, Guerra, Van Acker, Tolan, & Eron, 1995).

Security and Physical Facility Changes

In an effort to make high schools safer, many school districts have resorted to interventions adopted from correctional systems. These include security guards, metal detectors, video cameras, electronic monitoring of school doors, auditory monitoring of classrooms, and physical changes to the school structure (e.g., eliminating first floor windows and increasing lighting in dangerous areas; see Goldstein, 1994, for a review;

Sutton, 1996). These interventions are designed to address the physical locations where violence occurs. However, these are rarely incorporated into the formal social structure or social purpose of the school. Some have argued that these interventions make the school climate more "prison-like" and create an atmosphere incompatible with learning (Goldstein, 1994; Noguera, 1995). Conversely, others have argued that these "get tough" interventions are needed in some schools to maintain safety and stability (see Noguera, 1995, for a critical discussion). Nevertheless, no one is arguing that all schools be transformed into prison-like settings. These measures appear to be encouraged in unsafe schools where violence has become uncontrollable. Ironically, students', teachers', and administrators' perceptions of security interventions have gone virtually unexplored in the empirical literature. In this inquiry we asked our participants open-ended and direct question regarding the role and effectiveness of security measures.

Concepts Related to the Social and Physical Structure of the School.

We relied on additional concepts from architecture, urban planning, and teacher professionalism literatures to better frame the relationship between school violence and the physical/social structure of the school.

Undefined Public Space and Defensible Space

Research from environmental psychology has demonstrated strong relationships between violence and the physical/social environment in housing projects, prisons, and neighborhoods (e.g., Greenberg, Rohe, & Williams, 1982; Megargee, 1977; Nacci, Teitelbaum & Prather, 1977; Newman, 1973; Perkins, Meeks & Taylor, 1992; Stokols, 1995). Although environmental psychology has not explicitly explored school contexts, the concepts of undefined public space and defensible space are potentially relevant in explaining why violence occurs where it does in schools.

In research conducted in housing projects, Oscar Newman (1973), an architect and urban planner, explained how the spatial organization of housing projects could affect crime rates. Newman suggested that the structure and layout of the building influenced the

attitudes and behaviors of residents and people in the neighborhood. Newman carefully examined the social and psychological impact of building design and areas within or around buildings that are prone to violence. One of the pivotal issues related to building safety was the presence of undefined public space which was not perceived by residents to be anyone's responsibility. Newman (1973) found that most of the crime and violence in housing projects occurred in semi-public areas of the buildings including lobbies, stairwells, halls, and elevators. When housing projects were large and impersonal, residents tended to fell isolated and were unlikely to take personal responsibility for public space (Newman, 1973; Newman & Franck, 1982).

In addition, findings suggested that the highest crime rates occurred in buildings that did not architecturally define the transition from public to private space. Architectural interventions that reduced the ambiguity between public and private space were most successful in deterring crime (Newman, 1973). In summary, the architectural research indicated that the more ambiguous the ownership of a space was, the more likely it was for violence to occur within those spaces. Therefore, interventions focused on defining public spaces so that individuals would take personal responsibility for these areas.

Applying the concept of undefined public space and defensible space to high school settings raises several intriguing theoretical questions. Are the areas where violence occurs in high schools, such as hallways, cafeterias, gym locker rooms, and areas external to the school, considered "undefined public space" by students and teachers? If so, what school spaces and locations would be considered "owned" by the teachers and administrators in the building? Are the walls of the classrooms the physical definition of teacher's defensible space? In other words, are teachers' professional roles and responsibilities surrounding aggression clear within the classroom walls during the time they teach, yet unclear in other areas that are part of an undefined/unowned public space?

Professionalism, subject specialty, and classrooms as workspaces

Other concepts relevant to this discussion are teacher roles and the focus on subject specialty. We believe that these concepts can be very powerful when combined with the concepts of defensible space and undefined/unowned public space. Due to an emphasis on subject specialty in teacher training programs, it could be that the primary professional role of high school teachers has become the transmission of subject matter, sometimes at the expense of organizational roles, school/community roles, teacher/child relationships, and responsibility for the child in all school contexts (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lee, Bryk, & Smith, 1993; Lortie, 1975; Pauly, 1991; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin & Cusick, 1986; see Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995, for a slightly different perspective). Correspondingly, if subject specialty is the primary definition of teachers' role, the space within classroom walls where subject matter is taught may be perceived by teachers as their primary professional workspace. Consequently, it is possible that teachers, students, and administrators consider the physical area within classroom walls as "owned" professional territory. Likewise, it is equally plausible that hallways are considered undefined public space.

Pratte and Rury (1988) described some high schools using the metaphor of an industrial assembly line. They argued that the cognitive knowledge of children has become the "product" of the high school assembly line model. Teachers have subject specialties that they teach in physically defined classes. During the day students physically move from class to class while cognitive components are added to the children's knowledge base. If this metaphor is even somewhat accurate, we would expect teachers who define their role by subject specialty to also describe "professionalism" as taking responsibility for the product (learning) primarily when the child is physically within their professional workspace (the classroom). Those teachers may not perceive themselves as professionally responsible when students are somewhere else in the school or en route to another location. Consequently, with the concepts of "teachers' roles" and "defensible space" in mind, we

explored teachers' descriptions of their role as it related to the school maps documenting times and places where violent events occurred.

We hoped that these interviews would generate further hypotheses regarding why teachers and students considered the hallways, cafeterias, and other non-classroom spaces as undefined public territory. This conceptualization of professional roles within space, time, and subject specialty could potentially help explain why undefined internal school spaces have become predictable contexts for violence within schools.

Methods

Participants

Students and staff members who participated in this study were selected from five midwestern high schools. These schools were selected using a variety of criteria including recent media exposure regarding violent events, low per pupil expenditures, high levels of racial segregation and poor relationships between students and teachers. Several of these criterion were associated with unsafe schools based on an analysis of National Educational Longitudinal Study data (Lee & Croninger, 1995). All five schools had security guards or hall monitors and two had intricate electronic monitoring systems. One school did not fit all of the criterion, but was selected because violence was still considered a problem.

The following are brief descriptions of the demographics of the five high schools. The two inner-city high schools were predominantly African-American; one was large and public, the other small and private (Catholic). The majority of the students in both of these schools were from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Two of the high schools were urban and more racially, ethnically and economically diverse. One had a significant proportion of Middle Eastern students, the other had an almost equal proportion of White and African-American students. The remaining high school was suburban, with a lower enrollment of non-White students (20%) and a lower percentage of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. With the exception of the private Catholic high school all of the schools had an enrollment of over 1,000 students.

Seventy-eight students in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 were interviewed about violence in their high school. A key informant strategy was employed for selecting an equal number of male and female students. Twenty-two teachers were interviewed because they were considered to be "model teachers" by administrators and students. Within each school, additional staff members, including, principals, vice principals, hall monitors, and security guards were interviewed about violence in their school. These important school staff members are almost never included in empirical research on school violence.

Instruments and Procedure

The core instruments in this study were 1) maps (simplified blueprints) of the interior and exterior of the school; and 2) semi-structured interviews and focus-groups. These methods were used conjointly to investigate the interaction of time and space with the social milieu of the high school.

Maps: Individual students were given two sets of identical maps detailing the internal and external areas of their school (simplified school blueprints). On the first map, each student was asked to identify the exact locations of up to three violent events which had occurred in their school within the past year. More specifically, the student was asked to indicate 1) the location of the violent event(s), 2) at what time during the day did the event(s) occur, 3) the age and gender of those involved in the violence, and 4) their knowledge of any organizational response to the event(s). Students were not asked to identify themselves or participants by name. On the second map, each student was asked to identify areas in their school which they perceived to be "unsafe" or dangerous. The second set of maps were provided because we suspected that there were areas that students avoided because of fear even though they may not have knowledge of a particular violent event.

Interviews: The focus groups, which took approximately an hour and a half, were co-lead by trained male and female graduate students and a professor of education. All interviewers had past experience running or facilitating focus groups and were trained

specifically for this study. Each session was tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. An additional graduate student took observational notes -- recording nonverbal behavior and the sequence of students talking. These notes were then used conjointly with the transcripts. Parental consent was obtained and students were informed that this was a completely voluntary activity.

In each of the five high schools, students were organized into older (11th and 12th graders) and younger (9th and 10th graders) focus groups with an equal number of males and females. The structured interviews began with a discussion about the participants' individual maps. Students were first asked to discuss the specific violent events and unsafe/dangerous locations they had indicated on their maps. Then, students were asked semi-structured questions and encouraged to discuss how the quality of student/teacher relationships, the organizational response of the school, race, class and gender impacted violence within their school. Special attention was also given to what interventions students, staff, and administrators believed were effective in their schools.

Individual Interviews with Staff Members: Teachers and administrators were interviewed individually about the violent events which had occurred during the past year as well as unsafe locations. They were asked to comment on what they believed their role was when violent events happened in different locations and times. They were also asked questions related to the global variables which included how they thought teacher/child relationships, race/class, and gender impacted violence in their school. Additional staff members (e.g., security guards) were asked about their roles regarding violent events in the school and the monitoring of unsafe areas. This interview process also included the collection of written policy and procedures on violence from staff members. As a validity check, the research team walked through the various areas in the school and observed responses to events within certain locations. Finally, all the respondents were given freedom to discuss and elaborate on any issues related to violence that were not part of our original themes.

Analyses

Maps

The completed maps were analyzed in two ways. Each participant's age, gender, map events, times, locations, and descriptions of the violent events were entered into a data base so that frequencies of violent occurrences could be examined. Secondly, all of the identified events from the individual maps were transferred onto one large, poster-size map of each school. Figure 1 is an example of a map with the combined events of all the students within that school. Student reported violent events were coded by time of the event as well as the age and gender of the respondent. Each variable was represented by a specific color, shape or symbol on poster-sized maps. Unsafe areas were also identified using a similar color/coding scheme.

Insert Figure 1 About Here (sample map)

This method enabled the researchers to locate specific "hot spots" for violence and dangerous time periods within each school. As demonstrated by Figure 1, the events in that high school clustered by time, age, gender, and location. That is, for the older students (11th and 12th graders) events were clustered in the parking lot outside of the auxiliary gym immediately after school, whereas for younger students (9th and 10th graders) events were reported in the lunchroom and hallways during transitions. Girls identified many more dangerous areas throughout the school, including all the hallways at specific times of day and other unsupervised areas. This specific information could lead to the creation of tailored interventions or preventive strategies in these times and areas within the individual school. From a theoretical perspective the maps demonstrated the linked covariation between school violence and physical structure, time, age, and gender of the students.

Interviews About Maps

The focus groups served several functions in the analysis and interpretation of the maps. While the primary purpose of the maps was to identify the violent events (location and time), the interviews focused on the participants' interpretations of the events on the maps and their perception of the social organizational response to the events. The transcribed interviews were independently read and analyzed by five separate researchers who then met regularly to discuss common themes derived from the data. The interviews were coded for themes which included (1) violent events, (2) organizational responses, (3) teacher/child relationships, (4) race/class issues, (5) gender issues, and (6) interventions/solutions. The interviews served as a way to link many of the perspectives of the participants about these themes to specific times and locations in the school.

Results

Violent Events

> There's almost a climate of hostility and anger and violence ready to explode. People sort of living on the brink of fear all of the time. That it could get worse at any moment... I've had a kid in my class with a loaded 38. -- a female teacher

Almost all the violent events discussed by the students and teachers were severe (requiring medical attention) and most were potentially lethal. Table 1 represents the types of severe events which were mentioned by participants during the course of the focus groups.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Students and staff discussed shootings, stabbings, rapes, and severe physical fights/beatings. The data in Table 1 suggested that there was also a range of qualitatively different types of severe violent events that occurred in the school building or on the school grounds.

Maps

The maps revealed important information related to the participants, as well as the time and location of violent events in and around the school. Of the 166 reported violent events in all five schools, all were in locations where there were students and few or no adults. The violent events located in classrooms occurred during periods of time when teachers were not present. For example, in one school a particular classroom where violent events were reported, was left unattended and unlocked during the afternoon.

In the initial analysis of the maps, researchers noticed that violent events were occurring in similar areas within the five schools, at similar times of day, and between similar groups of students. Consequently, Table 2 demonstrates the combined frequencies of reported violent events across the five schools by location, and the age and gender of the respondents.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Specific hallways during transitions accounted for 40% of the reported events within each school. Sixty-four percent of the identified hallway events were reported by girls. Overall, 64% of all of the violent events were reported by older students (11th and 12th graders). Nineteen percent of the events occurred in the cafeteria/lunch area during lunch time. Other dangerous areas included the physical education locations (gyms, locker rooms), playgrounds, auditoriums, and areas circumscribing the school in the morning (before classes) or immediately after the school day. Fifty-seven percent of all of the violent events were reported by girls.

The second set of maps which were used to identify "unsafe areas" revealed that girls identified more dangerous locations than boys in all five schools. Overall, based on the spaces marked on their maps, we estimated that 25 to 30 percent of school space during different times of the school day were considered unsafe by the girls in our sample (this

accounted for almost all of the spaces that were not typically frequented by school staff). In contrast, based on areas marked by boys, they perceived only 10 to 20 percent of school space as unsafe. This data suggested that unowned and undefined public areas within schools were more threatening for girls than for boys. Even so, all the unsafe places and events marked by both boys and girls occurred in "undefined and unowned public space." This suggests that greater adult ownership of those spaces might make both boys and girls feel safer.

Interviews about the maps: The maps and frequency tables revealed a great deal about questions related to when, where, what, and to whom violence happened. However, the interviews with students and staff were utilized to explore why the violence was occurring. Why was violence not occurring in the classrooms when a teacher was present? Why did it seem that school administrators and teachers chose not to actively prevent violence outside of the classroom? Why were there so many similarities (in procedures, locations, times, responses) across different schools?

A major finding which emerged from the interviews with both students and school personnel helped to explain why there were few adults in these "hot spots" for violence and why there was a poor organizational response to violent events in these locations. Although members of each school staff were deeply disturbed by violent events in their school, most did not believe it was their professional role to secure dangerous locations (such as hallways) or intervene to stop violent events in those locations. Consequently, with the exception of the classroom space while they were teaching, there was a professional reluctance and lack of clarity on how to proceed before, during and after violent events. The few adults who intervened to stop violence in these locations perceived their actions as a personal moral conviction rather than an obligatory organizational response that could or should be applied to other school personnel. The interviews with school staff revealed that they were also aware of these "hot spots" for violence and the most common reason given for events in those locations was that there were no teachers or

staff present. School staff members knew which groups of students were most at risk for being victimized. However, across all five schools, staff members were unclear who was expected to intervene and what procedures should be followed when violence occurred in undefined/unowned school space.

Interviews about global themes: The focus groups and interviews also encouraged students and staff to discuss several global themes (e.g., organizational response, teacher/child relationships, interventions/solutions). We explored the relationship between these themes and the students' explanations of how these themes were related to violence in their schools. We found that the majority of these themes were associated with the time and location of violent events.

Organizational response to undefined public space: The voices of students, teachers and administrators (see Table 3, under the heading "Organizational Response") highlighted some of the confusion over the procedure which should follow a violent event .

Insert Table 3 About Here

Students expressed concerns over teachers' reluctance to intervene in a violent event. They frequently mentioned that suspension was used by administrators in an inconsistent or arbitrary manner. Many students felt that poor communication between adults and students after violent events and a lack of general information regarding procedures before, during, and after events were very serious problems.

Teachers voiced concern about inadequate administrative/staff support when they did intervene to stop violence in unowned/undefined space. They concurred with the students that procedures and professional roles regarding violent events were unclear. Administrators did not respond uniformly. In fact, it was common for administrators in the same schools to contradict each other when discussing what procedures needed to follow a violent event. For example, in one school an assistant principal suggested that intervening

was a decision that teachers needed to make for themselves, whereas the other assistant principal went as far as to say that teachers were legally required to intervene when violence occurred in the school (see Table 3, under "Organizational Response" row heading, "Administrators").

Repeatedly, this lack of clarity was evident when violence happened in undefined/unowned space, such as a particular hallway or stairwell. As reported earlier, no severe violent events were reported in classrooms while a teacher was present, which suggested that within the walls of the classroom, the response to violence was clearer than any other locations in the school. This hypothesis was confirmed by the interviews and our observations of the organizational response to violence within each setting.

Teachers and physical harm: Many teachers voiced reluctance about intervening in undefined public space and expressed fear about personal physical harm if they intervened in a conflict between students (see teacher comments in Table 3, under "Organizational Response" heading). In some schools, teachers had reason to be very fearful since they had been injured in the past while trying to break up a fight. The following is an exemplar of the types of comments we received regarding physical injury.

> I've been injured on numerous, numerous times. I've been thrown up against a wall... I was in the hall and I tried to get across to get the call button and hundreds of people running down the hall toward the fight just trampled me. I've had broken veins in the back of my legs, bruises up and down my back... I've been hurt. -- a female teacher

While analyzing the teacher interviews we were struck by the way violence prevention and intervention was described in personal terms. None of the adults we interviewed discussed organized strategies such as groups of teachers patrolling hallways during transition times or the creation of policy regarding roles and responsibility of school staff to secure specific dangerous locations.

Teacher/Child Relationships

Lee & Croninger (1995) found that higher levels of safety were associated with student perceptions that teachers or adults in the school cared about them. As evidenced by the comments made in Table 3, students who we interviewed had very clear ideas about which teachers "cared" and what it meant to be a "caring" teacher (see Table 3 under "Student/Teacher Relationships," row heading "Students.").

Model teachers: In reviewing comments made by students, teachers and administrators in Table 3, the teachers who were defined as "caring" took efforts to ensure students' attendance, expected students to do quality work, and went beyond what the students expected in terms of personal support (see Table 3 under "Student/Teacher Relationships"). With regards to violence, the teachers who were perceived to "care" the most had a clear response; they always intervened -- anywhere and at any time. These teachers knew the students as individuals, many knew the students' parents, and they were familiar with the community surrounding the schools. They were also individuals who saw intervening when violence occurred as a moral obligation to help a person "in need" rather than an issue that was part of their role as a teacher. In summary, the teachers who were perceived as most caring did not define their role as a teacher within the boundaries of the classroom walls. They did not perceive hallways as undefined public space -- seemingly without hesitation they owned the whole school or whatever space the child occupied. They expressed a personal obligation or connection to the whole child regardless of the setting, location, time or expected professional role. This frequently put them at odds with the conventional norms of what a teacher's role should be. The following is a statement from a teacher who was considered extremely effective in intervening and preventing violent situations.

> I would say that it is more like parenting. I talk to them. I don't keep my distance. I do not keep professionalism between us. I say what I really think, how I really feel. I break all of the rules. I touch them. If they're hungry, I feed them. If they

need clothes, I bring them clothes. If they need a ride home, I give them a ride home. I break all of the rules. -- a female teacher

Students had a clear idea about who the caring teachers were and why they were considered to be caring. Nevertheless, it was also clear that even though the administrators admired these teachers, they did not offer them formal support. Many of the other teachers said they wanted to become more involved with students outside of the classroom but were not willing to intervene further without more support. Among these teachers, there was a pervasive sense of powerlessness regarding what they could and couldn't do. The following statement expresses a common sentiment.

I can't make anything happen here. I have no power. The janitor, the secretaries have more power than I do. I don't have any power. There's nothing I can do . I have no voice. -- a female teacher

Gender

I think it's kind of more unsafe being a girl because you could be raped or molested or whatever. -- a female student

It is not surprising that more girls than boys reported more areas in and around the school that were "unsafe" or "dangerous." Many of the girls who we interviewed reported being witness to, or victims of, sexual harassment, coercion to have sex and even rape, before, after and during school hours. These accounts from students, administrators and teachers can be found in Table 3 under the heading "Gender." A rather unexpected finding was that over half of the violent events reported by students involved girls as both perpetrators and victims. As can be seen in Table 3, the majority of students and staff in these schools agreed that girls were most often the instigators of and participants in violent events.

Again, the level of lethality of these events involving girls as both perpetrators and victims was clearly a concern. Students reported witnessing girls who were involved in stabbings, beatings, and physical fights which resulted in hospitalization, as well as sexual

assaults. In the fights and stabbings, girls tended to be the perpetrators, whereas in the cases of sexual assaults, girls were the victims with boys as the perpetrators. Areas which were reported to be particularly unsafe for girls tended to be spaces with few or no adults, such as empty classrooms, the gym or weight room (where boys tended to congregate) and stairwells.

Clearly, girls in these high schools were doubly at risk for violence. They risked sexual assault or rape from their male classmates and physical fights/stabbings or shootings from their female classmates (see Table 3, under the heading "Gender"). The interviews spun a complex system of relationships where young women were drawn into violence in an attempt to save their "reputation" or their boyfriend from another young women. Still, there were no apparent interventions within the schools that attempted to understand or prevent violence where females, in particular, were the perpetrators or victims. This was particularly disturbing because there were a total of six rapes reported during school hours during the prior year in two of our schools. Additionally, staff, administrators and students were less likely to respond seriously to female perpetrated violence than violence which involved young men. These findings should be explored further in future research regarding school violence and gender.

Race/Class and Violence

The impact of race and class on school safety did not intersect with time, space or area in the occurrence of school violence. There was agreement for the most part across schools and across interviews about the impact of having a predominantly minority and lower SES student population on levels of violence. These themes can be seen in the comments related to race and class in Table 3 (see Table 3, under "Race/Class"). General themes which arose from the interviews included feelings of helplessness, hopelessness and despair which were a result of poverty and/or race and often manifested in violence.

> I think, if you've got no hope, if you're surrounded by despair, then you don't see that following the rules, that good work and good deeds will get you anywhere.

The kids are pretty frank about saying you know you're stupid if you play by the rules. -- a female teacher

Teachers and administrators also talked about the frustration they felt in dealing with an educational system where students often don't see a way out, even if they were to "follow the rules." Students expressed their frustration with "playing by the rules" because they believed they were within an educational system that was disconnected with the reality of their daily lives. There was a pervasive sense amongst many of the students with whom we talked that society (and their schools) had already given up on them because of their life circumstances. Clearly, the students believed that their race and class had a profound effect on their education. Furthermore, they seemed to believe that they had little or no power to change these circumstances, such as poor educational funding, that they perceived to be related to their race and socio-economic status.

Students in the inner-city and urban schools also expressed strong sentiments that the media played a large role in glorifying and/or exaggerating the violence that occurred in their schools and neighborhoods. These students expressed their frustration over their belief that there was violence occurring in suburban or semi-urban schools, but the administration within those schools were able to restrict media access. At the same time, most of the students in our low income, predominantly minority schools felt that their schools were under-funded due to institutional discrimination. This, they felt, did not cause students to become violent, but created more opportunities for perpetrators by creating physically deteriorated school environments.

Interventions for School Violence

There was general agreement among school personnel on how to discipline students who were involved in the violent events. Suspension and expulsion were mentioned by all the adults we interviewed as the most common organizational response to violence. Table 4 highlights student, teacher and administrator comments on the following violence interventions: suspension/expulsion, electronic monitoring, and security guards.

Insert Table 4 About Here

Opinions related to suspension and expulsion differed greatly between students, teachers and administrators (see Table 4 under the heading "Suspension/Expulsion"). This was particularly true when the effectiveness of suspension or expulsion as a means of preventing violence was discussed. Students generally saw suspension as an unfair, generalized way of dealing with students who got into trouble. Teachers' responses varied from support of suspension in all cases to concern about what happened to the students who were suspended or expelled. In general, teachers saw expulsion as a "revolving door" solution. Whenever a new student was admitted to their classes, teachers expressed a concern over whether that student had been expelled from another school for a serious offense (see Table 4 under the heading "Suspension/Expulsion," row heading "Teachers"). Administrators seemed to be the most convinced that suspension and expulsion worked. Some boasted that students were never given a second chance (see Table 4 under the heading "Suspension/ Expulsion," row heading "Administrators").

Given our hypothesis about undefined public space, we were particularly interested in what participants thought about interventions designed to secures those spaces. In most cases these interventions involved security guards, video monitoring, and hall monitors. The comments in Table 4 regarding electronic monitoring point to the ambivalence across students, teachers and administrators as to whether these interventions which were in place were highly effective (see Table 4 under the heading "Electronic Monitoring"). All the schools had some kind of monitoring, in most cases hall monitors, security guards or metal detectors. One school had a state-of-the-art electronic security system in place. Another school had video monitors in every hallway, all exterior areas, and on each bus. Yet, violence was still a significant problem in this school and the others we studied. If the systems were in place, why wasn't violence being prevented?

Comments made by teachers, administrators and students suggested that these systems were only as effective as the people who were responsible for monitoring them. As can be seen in the remarks on electronic monitoring in Table 4, there was some ambivalence amongst teachers and administrators about having electronic monitoring in one's school; that it somehow implied that the school had "lost the battle" against violence and a "negative" environment had been created.

Additionally, Table 4 demonstrates that the effectiveness of security guards was questioned by both teachers and students (see Table 4 under the heading "Security Guards"). They expressed concern over the high turnover rate, low salaries and lack of caring which they had observed in the majority of the hall monitors and security guards in their schools. In general, students felt that the security guards and hall monitors did not know them as individuals and, therefore, could not be effective. In some ways, the security guards were described and treated as transient substitute teachers who held very little authority. This was confirmed by our interviews with the security guards. They voiced a lack of support from teachers and administrators who expected them to monitor thousands of children during transition times. Even the security guards did not claim ownership of the undefined public territories. During our visits to the schools we observed many instances where the security guards and hall monitors did not intervene or felt the administrators or teachers should have intervened but instead "dumped" the problem on to them. Interestingly, the administrators seemed to think that security guards were a highly effective way to prevent violence (see Table 4 under the heading "Security Guards," row heading "Administrators").

Interventions Suggested by Students: An underlying theme of all our interviews with students and staff was "connectedness." Violence did not occur in the classrooms because teachers monitored these spaces and were more connected to students within classroom spaces. In effect, for the majority of teachers, their classrooms were their "defensible space."

Themes related to connectedness and relationships also emerged when students commented on what interventions they thought would help to decrease the level of violence in their schools in specific locations. Table 5 gives students' suggestions for both practical interventions, such as locking doors, and relational interventions, such as having teachers spend more time in the cafeteria.

Insert Table 5 About Here

Overall, Table 5 points to the students' contention that "caring adults" need to be in the monitoring role (such as the principal monitoring the parking lot) as well as some practical ways to implement changes in the school (such as showing identification at the door).

Discussion

As expected, the results of this inquiry suggest that school violence occurs in predictable locations and times in and around the school building. Moreover, the locations and times where violence occurred appeared to interact with the age and gender of students within each school. For example, in one school, older children tended to be involved in more violent events in school parking lots after school while the younger students reported more events in the cafeteria and hallways. Most interestingly, the children and teachers were aware of the consistencies of where and when certain groups were more prone to violence. As expected, classroom violence in the presence of a teacher was not reported in this study. All 166 events and dangerous locations carried the common denominator of being school spaces with no teachers. All dangerous areas were locations that teachers tended to perceive as outside of their professional roles. We emphasize the role of teachers because other adults in undefined public space, such as hall monitors, security guards, cafeteria workers, bus drivers, and noon aides, did not appear to have a significant impact on violence reduction.

Our findings confirmed the hypothesis that the students, teachers, other staff members and administrators considered the areas where violence occurred as undefined public space. Most adults did not perceive those areas and times as part of their professional role or responsibility. Therefore, procedures, rules, consequences, and interventions in these areas seemed arbitrary and unclear. Even though all five schools had expensive security measures, aside from the administrators, most of the study participants described these measures as ineffective. Security guards, video cameras, metal detectors, and police were only effective if they were perceived to be part of the school structure and part of an integrated organizational response.

By far, the most effective violence intervention described by the children, teachers and administrators was the physical presence of a teacher who knew the students and was willing to intervene, coupled with a clear, consistent administrative policy on violence. Not surprisingly, a teacher's willingness to intervene was a significant part of the students' definition of a caring teacher. There was consensus among the students that caring teachers saw their role as transcending beyond the walls of the classroom to all areas of the school, and, for that matter, into the surrounding community and the children's home lives. These teachers knew about the children's home circumstances, after school activities, and their long-term hopes.

From a practical point of view our study questions the wisdom of having spaces and times within schools that are "unowned" by school professionals. About a third of all school space was unowned by the adults. And, the majority of violence occurred in those areas. Our results imply that reclamation and ownership of these locations by teachers and administrators has the potential to drastically decrease the prevalence of violence in schools. Also, the findings suggest that merely placing an adult or video camera in a undefined public space did not create an ownership of the space. The students felt that the unowned public spaces must be personally reclaimed by adults who have authority, who know them personally, and know what procedure to follow when conflict arises in those locations.

This study has implications for psychological interventions that attempt to teach children conflict management skills. Although these interventions are popular, they often do not address the issue of unowned space. As important as it is for children to learn problem solving skills, many conflicts may require an adult and a set of organizational justice procedures. Students voices were clear on this issue. They desired direct supervision and consistent consequences by teachers and administrators in all dangerous school contexts. In addition, in some situations it is inappropriate for students to negotiate a conflict without the supervision of an adult. For example, we heard several instances of sexual harassment (in hallways) from girls who did not want to negotiate alone with the perpetrators. Nevertheless, conflict management and peer counseling were the only alternatives provided by the school. We suggest that at a minimum, conflict management should incorporate micro-contexts of the school and distinguish situations when adults should and should not encourage direct negotiation between students.

On a more theoretical level, researchers should incorporate the social patterns and physical characteristics of the school environment which are highly correlated with violence. The unique social developmental circumstances of school violence have not been fully explored by empirical researchers. Most research on this topic has been driven by the questions, "Why are children violent?" or "What contributes to children becoming violent?" Naturally, these types of theoretical questions lead to interventions that focus on changing the violent or aggressive child. We encourage the examination of other related questions. "Why do children perpetrate violence in certain school spaces ?" "What variables enable the perpetration and victimization of children in schools?" "What are the most predictable school social contexts for violence?". As an example, we believe that children are probably more likely to act out or become violent in the presence of a substitute teacher. Nevertheless, virtually no research or theoretical explanation exists for this phenomena. This topic would be of great theoretical interest and have important implications regarding school violence and the importance of teacher/child relationships. Furthermore, some of

the most unsafe schools have extremely high teacher nonattendance or teacher turnover rates. This dynamic may have reciprocal effect both on teacher burnout and on school violence. With a transient staff, or a large substitute staff, it is possible that most of the internal space of the school is unowned by staff and thus considered "undefined public territory" by students and teachers. This would, therefore, increase the spaces and times where violent behavior could occur. In addition, we encourage researchers to explore violent behaviors associated with specific school contexts such as hallways. Studies attempting to explain why students gather around to observe hallway fights, or why many schools do not hold the peer crowd responsible for encouraging fights, could have important implications for the creation of new interventions.

Our finding related to girls needs to be explored further in future studies. First, in all of our school settings girls were more likely to be victims of violence. However, they were also more likely to be perpetrators to other girls. The majority of girl/girl violence involved friendship betrayal and altercations over boyfriend relationships. Even though the violence reported between girls was severe, it was not responded to by school staff or students in the same way as male violence. It tended to be taken less seriously. We suspect that the intricate circumstances of violence over relationships was the main reason teachers and administrators did not respond to the girls' violence as severely as boys' violence. However, an under-reporting and/or under-response to girl violence may increase girls' chances of being victims and perpetrators.

From a policy and training vantage point, every effort should be made to have school employees own all physical and social contexts of the school -- especially locations where students have frequent conflict. Every effort should be made to encourage the adults who are responsible for these locations to get to know students personally and by name. Many are advocating martial arts classes or behavioral management courses for teachers (Nicklin, 1996). Although we agree that teachers should know how to defend themselves, we find these policy recommendations peculiar considering that almost all violence occurs

outside the classroom where there are few teachers. Since violence tends to occur less within occupied classrooms, perhaps the atmosphere that is created by teachers within classrooms should be emulated in other areas within the school. Perhaps teachers are the professionals best suited to educate others to create and own professional space. We believe that organized systems of patrol and common sense "natural" interventions based on the knowledge gained from safe classrooms should drive a new genre of interventions. Finally, it is important to mention that students felt the routes to and from school were additional important "contexts" that adults should secure for them and every effort should be made to "reclaim ownership" of these spaces.

It is our hope that the mapping and interview procedure outlined in this study could be used to develop violence prevention strategies tailored for specific schools. We believe that in the final analysis, teacher generated and implemented interventions hold the greatest likelihood of securing safety and preventing violence. We hope that policy makers and district level administrators consider these recommendations as alternatives or additions to the interventions currently employed.

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Figure 1.
Violent Events Marked by Location, Time, Gender and Age

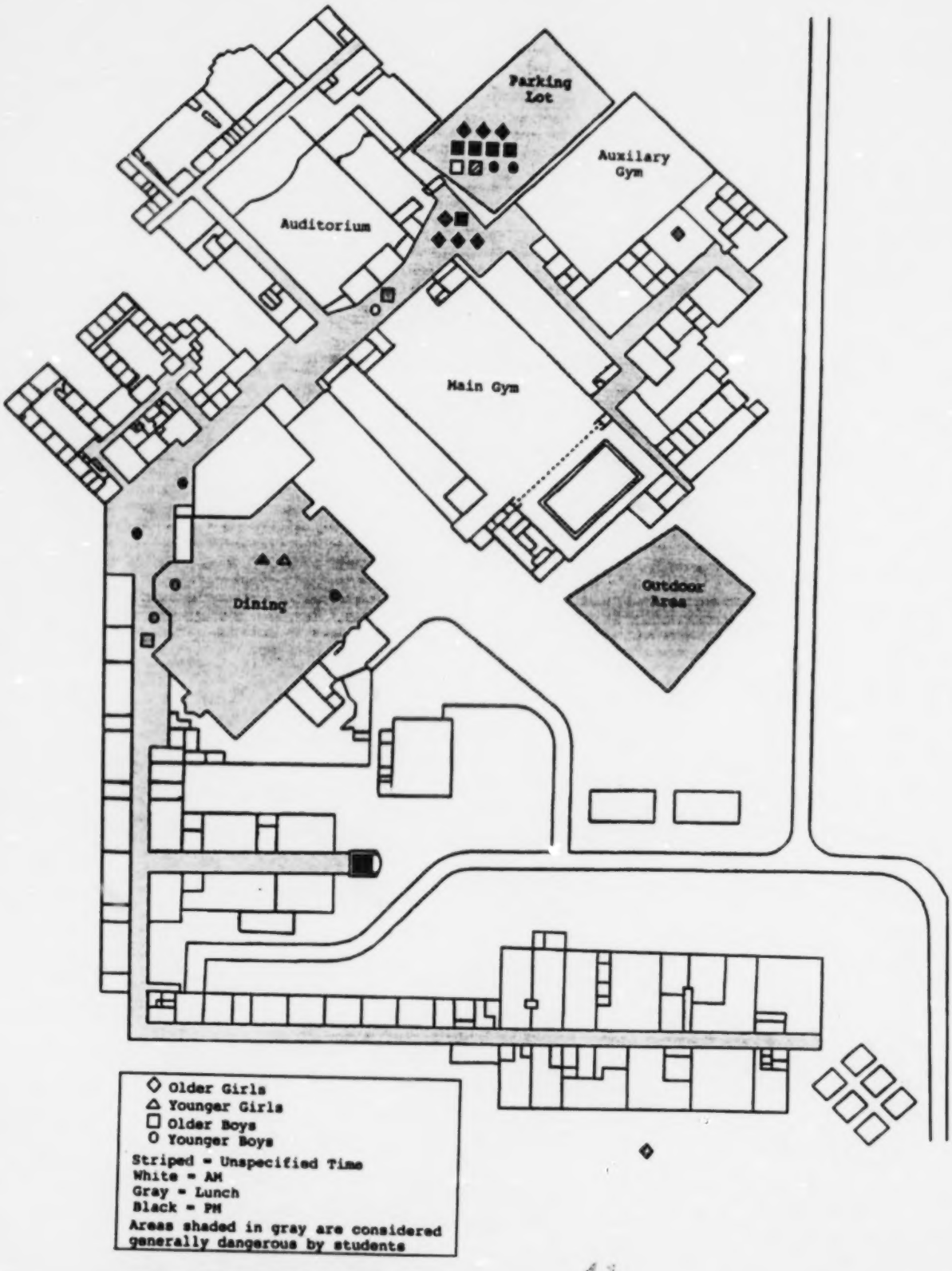

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Table 1

Student Reported Violent Events

Violent Event	Student Account
Shooting/Gun	"I've had a boy pull a gun on me in school before."
	"The student that brought in a gun, you know he said, he was saying he was gonna shoot somebody."
	"They were shooting up the school... shooting up the door."
	"My brother got shot in the parking lot."
Stabbing	"We had a terrible fight last year. It was after a basketball game. A couple of people got stabbed.... It was bad."
Rape/Sexual Assault	"This girl, she got raped by this boy..."
	"I seen plenty of guys down there calling females from the end of the hallway.... Calling females, like come here, you know. They won't rape you, but they'll harass you to have sex with them."
	"I've told plenty of times of guys messing with me, and you know they say 'I'll talk to him." I mean talking ain't going to do nothing cause they gonna keep doing it."
Physical Fights/Assaults	"Well I saw a fight. You know, I went up to the second floor. Two girls was fighting and pulling on each others hair and calling each other names and stuff. That was real violent."
	"Some girls rode up in a car and jumped out and had like these little sticks or bats or whatever you call them... and they jumped these two girls."
	"I looked away and some dude just sucker punched me. I went out, like I slammed my head on the concrete. I got knocked out."
	"Before a school dance a group of guys not from our school jumped some kids coming in. They broke bottles, and there was physical fighting and a threat of a gun."
	"Members of two gangs got in a scuffle around lunch time."
	"I saw two guys jump one guy. His face had indents where the knuckles had hit."
	"A boy from our school tried to run over a person from another school."

Table 2

Location Frequencies of Violent Events by Gender and Grade

	Location							
Group	Class	Hall	Gym	Cafeteria	Outside -- on grds	Outside -- off grds	Other	Total
Female								
Grades 9-10	3	21	4	6	1	0	2	37
Grades 11-12	11	21	2	9	4	4	6	57
Female Total	14	42	6	15	5	4	8	94
Male								
Grades 9-10	2	8	2	7	1	0	3	23
Grades 11-12	1	16	5	9	10	7	1	49
Male Total	3	24	7	16	11	7	4	72
Total	17	66	13	31	16	11	12	166

Table 3

Core Student, Teachers and Administrator Comments Related to Organizational Response, Teacher/Student Relationships, Race, Class and Gender

Domain	Students	Teachers	Adminstrators
Organizational Response	"I wouldn't actually jump in there either because these, like goons up here they don't care about a teacher and they fight and they not concerned about the teacher. If the teacher gets hit, most likely they going to say they shouldn't be in the way. So it's not they job to break to break up fights."	"Two young ladies were going at it outsideof my door, and I went to pull one off. She started punching me... and she was swearing. We ended up on the floor. I'll never forget. I looked up and two male teachers were standing there, not doing anything."	"We've told the teachers they can take any level of activity they feel comfortable taking. They can intervene physically if they feel they have to. And I've had some teachers do that."
	"Because I've seen a lot of people who get suspended and, you know, you see them a few weeks later getting in-school suspension. I mean what's the difference?"	"I have a call button..they don't answer, they don't respond. I have to run next door and tell my department head. She would pick up the phone and try to locate security... the kid would be back in my class in three days."	"If you're in the immediate area, you've got to break that fight up. You're to do what you can... state law requires teachers to be responsible in that situation."
	"[A]nd she told me to go to the hallway. We went to the hall. The girl came out into the hall.... Then you know the teacher is still in the classroom, but she knows all this time that we are arguing and it is going to be a conflict. Why didn't she stop when we were having words?	"I can remember a few years back, we had a convicted rapist who was in classes at this school. The teachers were not told that this student was convicted of rape...he was scheduled with a number of young women teachers... and the principal never said a word..."	"There's a liability issue here. It's something that a lot of teacher's don't seem to understand... it means that they must at least give a verbal command to stop."
	"That's like when the tuition office got held up. Don't you know, I was walking down the hall and I didn't even know what happened. Can you imagine how I felt? I could have got shot for no reason.... I think they should let us leave at least when the police came. Evacuated out one of these doors."	"I think that some teachers probably would not like to get involved. In fact, I saw one (a fight) about nine months ago where the teacher walked away from it and didn't want to get involved."	"And, many times we would just transfer a student who had one fight. You could say anyone who fights in this building is gone."

Table continues.

Table 3 (continued)

Domain	Students	Teachers	Adminstrators
Student/ Teacher Relationships	"If I see a teacher that's trying to make me do my work or whatever, I have like a lot of respect for them. If I don't see a teacher that's trying to make me do work, then I have less respect for them."	"They're looking for consistency. They're looking for a teacher who cares about their attendance."	"When I hire teachers, I try to find teachers that value education and who will respect the student... so most of the teachers have a good rapport with the kids."
	"I know some of them care because I work in the office and I sit up there and find them talking. Them teachers are scared... They're scared of the students. They don't want to interfere."	"I think it comes down to the notion that you have to treat students with respect if you want to be treated with respect. But that doesn't mean that you can slack off at disciplining students."	"I believe you cannot legislate, you cannot set policy that says thou shalt respect but I believe that is the answer. If kids feel respected, they will be less likely to be violent."
	"Miss. A. She's one of the most favorite teachers over here and every student likes her. So, if she tells you something, you will do it because she's somebody who tells the students that she cares about them."		
Gender	"90% girls (girls fight more)... mostly in this school girls fight more than boys."	"And when girls fight, they fight dirty. And by dirty I mean that they'll bite, they'll scratch, they'll pull hair...the only time I've really been hurt in two fights have been when I've broken up girls."	"99 times out of a hundred, if girls fight it's over a boy."
	"Because they just get into more conflicts than the guys do and they have more fights and bloody noses and all that stuff. They get suspended more than guys do."	"The stairwells are the prime location where the boys get the girls..I came upon a boy assaulting a girl in the stairwell. He had her mouth covered....he was choking her and her clothes were all kind of torn off."	"One of our hall monitors saw a boy smack his girlfriend. And I said, 'You know, why would you do that?' And he said, 'Well she's gotta know I care about her!'... and he was serious.

Table continues.

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Table 3 (continued)

Domain	Students	Teachers	Adminstrators
Race/ Class	"You are looking at a situation now that it doesn't matter what color he is because I think violence has no color."	"Poverty forces people to do desperate things. And, when someone feels impoverished they feel powerless...t hen comes desperation. Then people do desperate things."	"Our drop-out rate, not drop out rate but turnover rate seems to go with the economy ... when the economy is low we have more kids who are not returning."
	"Some kids over here grow up with their father being in jail, with their mother doing whatever she wants to do. And first of all, they're going to learn respect at home.... So for them, there's like nobody... so how can they return respect."	"I think a lot is the media perception. You get just as many fights in suburban schools as you do the inner-city schools."	
	You've (inner city) gotta come to school worrying about if you gonna get shot or not, whether somebody's gonna take you out. You know, in the suburbs, you don't have that to worry about ... but suburbs are still violent 'cause they just don't put the media on it."	The buses for the (minority) students are dropped off where the teachers' lot is. The other students are dropped off at the front. That has alleviated some of the fighting just simply by separating them."	
	"...when somebody say a black boy aged let's say 15 through 19, they say 'forty ounces, blunts and guns' and that's all they think. Don't nothing else come up. And if you say well my brother, 'He's going to be a doctor,' they're not going to believe me."		

Table 4

Interventions: Comments by students, teachers, and administrators

Intervention	Students	Teachers	Administrators
Suspension/ Expulsion	"No (not useful), because I've seen a lot of people who will get suspended and, you know, you see them a few weeks later getting in school suspension. I mean what's the difference?"	"We have kids who are threats. They don't last long around here. They threaten a teacher and they're done. They're gone."	"If you are caught with a weapon in school, or if you're caught selling drugs it's expulsion. There's not even a let's reconsider."
	"Suspend everyone. You know, they just, whoever was standing around, just suspend them... teachers just come and grab a handful of people who you see standing around who look like they were doing something... you're all suspended."	"There are no exceptions to the policy. There is no exception. Would I change it? I don't know. Should a kid who is caught with a gun in his locker be kicked out or be allowed to come back into this school?... You are going to kick him out of here and throw him out in society? Who's going to care for him then?"	"If you're caught fighting, then you go home and you're suspended. It's either three or five days. If it's a fist fight they can be suspended to another school."
	"I disagree with the administrators. How sometimes like when people are doing good stuff, they may get involved with something bad and they just feel like eliminating them will be the best thing, but they don't look at their good qualities, and stuff like that."	"Part of our fear is our knowing that no one gets rid of these kids. They just move from school to school. So, in the middle of the semester when you get a new kid all of a sudden, you know that kid has probably been put out of some other school for carrying a weapon."	"If we catch a kid with a weapon...we've expelled since I've been the principal here. We've expelled or there has been an expulsion pending on five kids."
	"You have to see each individual case and how it effects their lives. You can't just go out and rule for them."	"So, in other words, if you're hit in the face and your initial reaction, as a sixteen year old is to smack this person back, you both will be suspended for ten days."	"Possession of a weapon, using a weapon, you don't get a second chance."

Table continues.

Table 4 (continued)

Intervention	Students	Teachers	Administrators
Electronic Monitoring	"If somebody want to bring a gun in they can get slick. And that metal detector ain't going to stop them."	"I have a call button. So I guess that's support. If I push the call button now, it would take about ten minutes for somebody in the office... they don't answer, they don't understand."	"We have to provide a monitored education, a monitored environment... we feel there are more areas where we need surveillance. We try to have staff monitoring those area, where it would be better to have surveillance."
	"They walk through the doors. Our security do not matter. You can walk through the door."	"I don't think that (electronic gadgetry) addresses any of these issues. And I think that only a small percentage of the students will benefit from that... I think it sends a really negative message.... It's like a prison... when you have to have cameras in your cell."	"If it ever came to the point that we had to put metal detectors on our front doors and pass all kids through it, we've lost the battle... I think it's the message it sends. It's the impact it has on the total environment. You know, big brother watching."
	"All the cameras are gonna do is videotape, you know what I'm saying? They'll fight right in front of the camera, too..some of them they'll be asking, 'can I get that tape?'	"We don't have metal detectors that you come through our doors with yet. But if we start to see the weapons becoming more of an issue the teachers will push to have that go on."	"I don't know whether we've reached the point where you need metal detectors at every entrance or not. I'm not saying that at this point."
	"These doors right over here? If you walk out, the door is still open. They got cameras, but the people can just walk in."		"Well you know all of those things (electronic gadgetry) probably have a place in our society. I don't know if the school is such a thing. You want kids to feel that they're coming in a place to learn, not coming to a place of endangerment."
	"There's more violence right by the security desk... right by the security desk."		"Well for the prevention of the seriously violent acts we have the metal detectors ... So far that has gone pretty well."

Table continues.

Table 4 (continued)

Intervention	Students	Teachers	Administrators
Security Guards	"We've got the cheapest security guards you can get! They don't know what they're doing. They get these cheap guys that are just looking at what's going on. They aren't even trained."	"They (security) do not receive benefits and I do believe they make about $7 an hour..they're more like social workers which does work to a degree, but they let them slide on too much stuff."	"They'll run. They'll come here right away. Especially if it's a fight."
	"That's all they (security) do. They be eating all that kind of stuff. And plus, they're not energetic. They out of shape."	"I think you need a lot of security people. I think you need people other than teachers that need to be hired...And these people have to get paid enough so they'll continue to stay here. Our turnover is tremendous because their pay is $5 and hour."	"We have three full-time security people who roam the hallways and the parking lot. ...they're very effective."
	"And fourth hour, you can just walk in. They (security) don't ask you where you goin' or nothin'. You just walk in."	"We have three security guards there where there are monitors, etc. seven hours a day. You'll find all three of them standing there together. I don't understand why they aren't assigned to different parts of the building."	
	"They don't concentrate on the major points of safety. They will be like getting people for little things."		
	"No, but like, some of the girls, they're like, you know, I guess they look good to some of the security guards and security guards let them go through."		

Table 5

Student Reported Violent Events and Suggested Interventions

Location	Violent Event	Suggested Interventions
Hallway	• pushing • fighting • gun pulled • gang fights • assault	"There's so many people that you can understand that the hallways are crowded. That's our number one problem--the hallways are too crowded." "Have a rule that if you surround a fight you're helping... so you would get the same punishment as the people fighting, because you're helping people fight." "[T]hey (security) should know what is going on in their hallway instead of like two or three of them going down the same way."
Parking Lot	• physical fights • weapons • shooting • stabbing • physical threats • racially motivated fights	"Well where there's not supervision (parking lot) there's always going to be trouble.... The principal, he should be out there."
Abandoned/ Unmonitored Spaces	• physical fights/assault • sexual assault/rape • strangers entering • weapons • robbery	"Maybe if we had regular security guards, like they had a 70 year old man security guard, and like that guy can't even move." "People walk in at like 7 o'clock. No guards anywhere. It's just quiet--nobody anywhere." "When we have a weapon search, they supposed to check you. There's some people they don't check." "More lights...or have a monitor. Have somebody down there." "I mean lock the school doors.... The back door is always open and people come in." "I think we need to have ID's to show... and then like a speaker at the door."
Cafeteria	• physical fights • food fights • throwing chairs • gang scuffles	"They should have at least 5 teachers in there... a minimum of five teachers. Because now there's only two teachers." "It's too crowded..our lunch hour is only 25 minutes." "I think you should go basically anywhere during lunch, as long as you clean up after yourself, because keeping a lot of people together kind of generates fights."